

Message Text

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E. O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: WEST GERMAN PRESS COMMENTARY ON US- SOVIET
SUMMIT.

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN COMMENTING ON THE US- SOVIET SUMMIT,
THE WEST GERMAN DAILY PRESS CONTINUES TO FOCUS ON THE
AGREEMENT FOR THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR AND TO
COUCH ITS ANALYSES IN TERMS THAT EXPRESS CONSIDERABLE
CONCERN. THE MAIN THEME IS THAT THERE IS NO LONGER
A FULLY VALID US NUCLEAR GUARANTEE FOR WESTERN EUROPE.
THE US, ACCORDING TO THIS VIEW, HAS CEASED TO REGARD
EUROPEAN SECURITY AS AN ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT
OF ITS OWN AND HAS THEREFORE SEEN FIT TO " DISCONNECT"
ITS SECURITY FROM THAT OF EUROPE. A FEW COMMENTATORS
DRAMATIZE THE SPECIAL ROLE PLAYED BY THE AGREEMENT FOR
THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, BUT MOST SEE IT SIMPLY
AS THE LOGICAL OUTCOME OF A PROCESS THAT HAS BEEN
EVIDENT TO EUROPEANS (OR OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN EVIDENT
TO THEM) FOR SOME TIME -- AT LEAST SINCE THE 1972
US- SOVIET SUMMIT. TWO POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS CONSEQUEN-
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CES CITED BY MANY WRITERS ARE:

(A) THE SIGNIFICANCE OF EXISTING SOVIET CONVENTIONAL SUPERIORITY IN EUROPE WILL BE ENHANCED;
(B) REDUCING THE RISK THAT WARS FOUGHT BY CONVENTIONAL MEANS MIGHT TRIGGER THE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WILL MAKE CONVENTIONAL WARS MORE LIKELY, NOT JUST IN EUROPE BUT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. AT LEAST ONE ANALYST FORESEES AN ALMOST IMMEDIATE GROWTH IN SOVIET POLITICAL LEVERAGE ON WESTERN EUROPE AND PREDICTS THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT BE LOATH TO USE THIS LEVERAGE, BUT FEW COMMENTARIES ARE THIS PESSIMISTIC. END SUMMARY.

1. GUENTHER GILLESSEN, IN A LEAD EDITORIAL IN THE JUNE 28 FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG (FAZ) ENTITLED "THE UNCOUPLING OF EUROPE", PRESENTS HIS CONCERNS IN RATHER EXTREME FORM. WASHINGTON, HE SAYS, IS PURSUING A "NEW SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP" WITH THE USSR AND IN THE PROCESS PUSHING WESTERN EUROPE ASIDE INTO THE "REGIONAL" CATEGORY, A CATEGORY USED TO CHARACTERIZE AREAS OF FOREIGN POLICY INTEREST, SUCH AS THE NEAR EAST OR INDOCHINA, WHICH THE US REGARDS AS IMPORTANT BUT NOT ABSOLUTELY VITAL. AS A RESULT, "THE SUBSTANCE OF AMERICA'S SECURITY GUARANTEE FOR EUROPE HAS BEEN DAMAGED. IT CONSISTED IN THE FACT THAT THE SOVIET UNION COULD NOT USE ITS TWO OR THREEFOLD MILITARY SUPERIORITY FOR WAR OR EXTORTION WITHOUT HAVING TO FEAR THAT IT WOULD BE CONFRONTED BY UNFORESEEABLE NUCLEAR RISKS". THE FIRST CONSEQUENCE OF THE "DISENGAGEMENT" BETWEEN AMERICA AND EUROPE, GILLESSEN ARGUES, IS THAT THE MANIFOLD CONVENTIONAL SUPERIORITY OF THE SOVIETS ON LAND, IN THE AIR, AND ON THE SEAS SURROUNDING EUROPE WILL RECEIVE ITS NATURAL WEIGHT". THIS MAKES PEACE LESS SECURE, ALTHOUGH IT DOES NOT RAISE AN ACUTE THREAT OF WAR. WHAT HAS INCREASED, "NOT AS A DISTANT DANGER BUT AS AN IMMEDIATE POSSIBILITY," IS THE SOVIET ABILITY TO SHIFT QUICKLY TO A POLICY OF INTIMIDATION AND EXTORTION WITH RESPECT TO WESTERN EUROPE. EUROPE IS NOT WITHOUT FAULT IN ALL OF THIS, GILLESSEN WRITES. FOR DECADES, HE SAYS, THE EUROPEAN ALLIES HAVE BASED THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE US ON THE SAME PRINCIPLE OF "SACRED EGOISM" WHICH THE UNCLASSIFIED

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US ITSELF HAS NOW ADOPTED. AS A RESULT, IT IS NOW BECOMING CLEAR HOW NEAR WESTERN EUROPE IS TO THE POINT WHERE THE ROAD LEADS "FROM AN ALLIANCE IN DISARRAY TO NEUTRALISM, AND FROM THERE, IF THE AMERICAN COUNTERWEIGHT SHRINKS STILL FURTHER, TO A POSITION OF BEHOLDENNESS TO THE SOVIET UNION." IN THE FACE OF

THESE DEVELOPMENTS, GILLESSEN SAYS, ALL THE OLD ARGUMENTS FOR EUROPEAN UNIFICATION HAVE ACQUIRED NEW MEANING.

2. AN ARTICLE BY CHRISTIAN POTYKA IN THE JUNE 26 "SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG" IS ENTITLED "NIXON TOUCHES THE NERVE OF NATO." POTYKA WRITES THAT THE AGREEMENT ON

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THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, SEEN FROM THE EUROPEAN STANDPOINT, IS AIMED PRIMARILY AT THE "SO-CALLED NUCLEAR GUARANTEE OF THE US FOR ALL NATO MEMBERS." THIS IS CONFIRMED, IN THE WRITER'S VIEW, BY THE FIRST "SHOCKED REACTIONS" FROM VARIOUS EUROPEAN SOURCES. IN HIS VIEW, THE PRINCIPLE OF ESTABLISHING A STABLE WORLD ORDER HAS, FOR THE AMERICANS, BEGUN TO OVERSHADOW THE PROMISE TO PROTECT ALLIANCE PARTNERS. THIS RAISES THE QUESTION OF HOW HONESTLY ARTICLE 6 OF THE US-SOVIET AGREEMENT-- TO THE EFFECT THAT EXISTING

TREATIES ARE NOT AFFECTED-- IS MEANT. THE EUROPEANS CANNOT CHANGE THE SITUATION, BUT THEY SHOULD BE WATCHFUL. " THE MORE SERIOUSLY THE AMERICANS WISH TO TAKE THE NEW TREATY, THE MORE ATTENTIVE THE EUROPEANS MUST BE; BUT THEY WILL HAVE TO LIVE WITH IT. IT WOULD BE FRUITLESS TO LAMENT OVER THE COMPLICITY OF THE SUPER- POWERS OR THE AMERICAN " BETRAYAL," OR TO WANT TO REVERSE THE COURSE OF DEVELOPMENTS. MOREOVER, THE DREAMS ABOUT A EUROPEAN NUCLEAR POTENTIAL THAT MIGHT UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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COMPETE WITH THE SUPER- POWERS ARE ALL TOO THEORETICAL. WHAT REMAINS FOR THE EUROPEANS IS THE ATTEMPT TO SECURE MORE STRONGLY, BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, THE CONDITION OF NON- WAR THAT HAS EXISTED TILL NOW."

3. JUERGEN KRAMER, WRITING IN DIE ZEIT OF JUNE 29, SEES IN THE US- SOVIET AGREEMENT LESS A THREAT TO THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF WESTERN EUROPE THAN AN INDIRECT CONFIRMATION OF THE " BREZHNEV DOCTRINE." BREZHNEV, HE SAYS, HAS BROUGHT OFF THE FEAT OF DRIVING THE NOTORIOUS DOCTRINE OUT OF THE MINDS OF THE AMERICANS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME PERSUADING THEM TO PROVIDE IT WITH A KIND OF " OFFICIAL SEAL OF AMERICAN APPROVAL." BREZHNEV, THE AUTHOR BELIEVES, WAS ABOVE ALL CONCERNED TO SECURE THE FLANKS OF THE SOVIET UNION IN EUROPE AND ASIA. WITH REGARD TO CHINA, HE GOT WASHINGTON' S ASSURANCE THAT IT WOULD NOT TOLERATE IT IF A " THIRD COUNTRY" THREATENED NUCLEAR WAR. AS FOR EUROPE, HE " MANAGED TO SMUGGLE IN THROUGH THE BACK DOOR OF THIS AGREEMENT" THE NOTION THAT THE TWO SUPER- POWERS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTAINING ORDER IN THEIR OWN RESPECTIVE SPHERES OF INFLUENCE. ON MBFR. KRAMER WRITES, THE EUROPEANS ARE NOT LIKELY TO BE ENTIRELY SATISFIED BY DR. KISSINGER' S STATEMENT, ABOUT THE DROPPING OF THE WORD " BALANCED." MOREOVER, THEIR DOUBTS ARE NOURISHED BY WASHINGTON' S " OBVIOUS READINESS" TO INCLUDE FORWARD BASED SYSTEMS IN THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS."

4. FAZ' S WIDELY REGARDED EXPERT ON POLITICAL MILITARY MATTERS, ADELBERT WEINSTEIN, WRITES IN THE PAPER' S JUNE 26 EDITION THAT NATO IS FACING A DIFFICULT PERIOD --" PEOPLE ARE ALREADY SPEAKING OF AN ATOMIC YALTA"-- BUT THAT AN EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND WILL REVEAL THAT THE US- SOVIET AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR IS ONLY THE LATEST STEP IN A PROCESS THAT GOES BACK AT LEAST TO 1966. SINCE THAT TIME, HE MAINTAINS, THE US ATOMIC UMBRELLA FOR EUROPE HAS HAD HOLES IN IT. THESE HOLES WERE, IN WEINSTEIN' S VIEW, A RESULT OF THE POLICY OF " FLEXIBLE

RESPONSE" ADOPTED BY JOHNSON AND MCNAMARA AS A WAY
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OUT OF THE PROBLEM OF US ATOMIC ENGAGEMENT IN EUROPE.
BUT THIS CONCEPTION, THE AUTHOR SAYS, CONCEALS THE
POSSIBILITY OF A LOCAL WAR WHICH KEEPS DOWN THE RISKS

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FOR THE OTHER SIDE. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, EUROPE
MIGHT HAVE TO FIGHT A WAR WITH TRADITIONAL NON- ATOMIC
MEANS, ACTING IN THIS PROCESS AS " REPRESENTATIVES" OF
THE GREAT POWERS, AS IT WERE. " THE WASHINGTON
CONVERSATION BETWEEN NIXON AND BREZHNEV," WEINSTEIN
WRITES, " INCLUDES THIS DANGEROUS PERSPECTIVE."

5. IN A FOLLOW- UP ANALYSIS IN THE JUNE 27 EDITION OF

FAZ, WEINSTEIN DEVELOPS THE THEORY THAT THE FRENCH NUCLEAR CAPABILITY PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART IN MAKING THE US- SOVIET UNDERSTANDING POSSIBLE. ACCORDING TO THIS ARGUMENT, THE CONTINUING EXISTENCE OF A EUROPEAN NUCLEAR DETERRENT (WHICH WOULD HAVE SIGNIFICANT DESTRUCTIVE POWER IF USED IN A PREVENTIVE STRIKE) NARROWS THE SOVIETS' ROOM FOR MANEUVER IN EUROPE. GIVEN THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE FRENCH POSOTION, IT WILL CONTINUE TO PERFORM THIS FUNCTION AFTER THE US- SOVIET AGREEMENT HAS TAKEN AFFECT. WEINSTEIN SEES A " CHANGE IN THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ' FORCE DE FRAPPE' ". HE
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POINTS TO FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER JOBERT' S VISIT TO WASHINGTON NEXT WEEK AND SAYS THERE ARE RUMORS THAT THE US PLANS HENCEFORTH TO INTERPRET THE MACMAHON ACT MORE GENEROUSLY VIS- A- VIS FRANCE. IT APPEARS TO WEINSTEIN THAT US STRATEGIC POLICY HAS ENTERED INTO A " THIRD PHASE"-- FOLLOWING THE DULLES PHASE OF " MASSIVE RETALIATION" AND THE MCNAMARA PHASE OF " FLEXIBLE RESPONSE." IN THIS THIRD PHASE, THE TRADITIONAL NUCLEAR ENEMY, THE SOVIET UNION, IS TO BE REGARDED AS A PARTNER, BUT THE OLD ALLIES ARE TO KEEP THE SAME PLACES AS BEFORE IN THE SCHEME OF THINGS. IF THIS IS THE CASE, WEINSTEIN ARGUES, AND IF AN ATOMIC CONFRONTATION OF THE SUPER- POWERS IS TO BE RULED OUT, THEN THERE HAS TO BE A " SUBSTITUTE ATOMIC SHIELD." FRANCE, THE AUTHOR WRITES, COULD SERVE THIS PURPOSE. WHETHER THIS WILL WORK, HOWEVER, IS ANOTHER QUESTION. " NO ONE," HE SAYS IN CONCLUSION, " CAN BE FORCED INTO PARTNERSHIP. THAT HOLDS TRUE BOTH FOR PARIS AND FOR MOSCOW." HILLENBRAND

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